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NATIONAL REVIEW

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November 24, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Hungary—the West's Darkest Hour

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The Road Ahead for Eisenhower

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Amazing Mr. Diem

FREDA UTLEY

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · ROBERT PHELPS

RICHARD M. WEAVER · RUSSELL KIRK · WILLMOORE KENDALL

SAM M. JONES · MONTGOMERY GREEN · REVILO OLIVER

For the Record

The International Rescue Committee (62 W. 45th St., N.Y.C.), which has organized an Emergency Appeal for the Free Hungarian People, guarantees that funds received will be distributed by its own people, not by the Red Cross or any other agency with governmental connections.... Governor Ribicoff of Connecticut has asked every church in the state to assume responsibility for one Hungarian individual, or family.

Reaction in Europe to the Hungarian massacre: In Paris, Philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, a leading Communist apologist, headed a group of French intellectuals in a bitter denunciation of the Soviet Union. Italy's Left Socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, said he would return his Stalin Peace Prize (if he can raise the $25,000 in prize money, already spent).... Cartoonist James Friell quit the London Daily Worker after twenty years, and two important British union leaders denounced their party affiliations.... A general strike "against fascism" called by France's Communist CGT union (the nation's largest) fizzled completely.... In northern Italy scores of party members publicly tore up their Communist cards.

For several days early in November, Warsaw papers carried no news of the Hungarian revolt rather than publish the Soviet communiqués which were all they were receiving.... Western diplomats were amazed that Polish Cardinal Wyszynski was actually permitted to leave Warsaw for Rome at this time.

A final analysis of New York's Senatorial election figures shows that an estimated 250,000 conservatives protested the nomination of Liberal Jacob Javits in one of the three ways available to them: by a write-in vote for General MacArthur; by failure to vote for a Senator; by a vote for Wagner. Figures on the MacArthur write-in will not be available for three weeks, according to state election officials.

It was a draw for organized labor on "right to work" laws in the election. Washington state voted down anti-union-shop legislation two to one, but Nevada will retain its "right to work" law.... While publicly elated over the election results, union leaders can show only a batting average of .250 in areas where they exerted special effort .... Union contributions to various political campaign coffers are now estimated at approximately $2,000,000.

Best estimate, at this moment, on the showing of the T. Coleman Andrews ticket: Virginia, 41,482, Louisiana, 39,628, with nearly complete returns; Tennessee, 19,393, Texas, 10,420, Arkansas, 5,000, on basis of partial returns; Georgia, 1,790 write-in votes, with two-thirds of the districts reporting; Wisconsin, 1,898, with only two districts reporting; North Dakota, 71 votes, with only a handful of districts reporting. The States Rights ticket headed by Senator Byrd racked up 83,352 votes in South Carolina (more than Eisenhower, fewer than Stevenson) and 37,947 in Mississippi. The total vote for Andrews and Byrd topped a quarter of a million, but since many electoral districts have reported only the Republican and Democratic results that figure is probably low.

On the eve of the eight-nation Arab parley, the Iraqi government warned other Arab countries that any invitation to the Soviet Union to move into the Middle East would be fraught with danger.... In Bombay, the Indian Libertarian magazine counselled Nehrú against supporting Nasser on the grounds that an Islam united under Egyptian aegis could easily become a military menace to Hindu India.

Documents in the possession of five Algerian leaders recently seized by the French gave French intelligence the tip-off on the massive Soviet arms buildup in the Middle East ($420 million worth to Egypt, $56 million to Syria).... Five Algerians aboard the gun-running yacht "Athos," which the French also captured, told interrogators they had received guerrilla and radio training in Egyptian "fellagha" training camps.

Very few guests turned up for the Soviet party in celebration of the October Revolution in Brussels earlier this month—which was just as well. Local caterers had turned over to Hungarian relief organizations the food the Russians had ordered.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● The British and French move to reoccupy Suez was a dramatic moment in modern history; for it held out the hope that there is, deep in the bosom of the West, a resolution to survive that will pierce through clichés about the Use of Force, the Evils of Aggression, and the Compulsions of Coexistence. But last week, the English and French stalled: perhaps because their courage was great enough to stare down Egypt, the Arabs and the Communists, but not great enough to stare down the United States; perhaps because, owing to internal decay, they could muster the energy for a single brilliant flash of determination but, like a wornout battery whose power is overtaxed, were unequal to any sustained effort. The next weeks will tell.

● The collapse of the Hungarian revolt and the failure of the United States Government overtly to assist the revolutionaries has made explicit a quandary that has for years implicitly plagued American foreign policy. West German and French newspapers have now published charges that the United States, through its semi-official Radio Free Europe, incited the Hungarians to revolt, and then refused to help them once they had done so. Mr. Frank J. Abbot, information director of Radio Free Europe, rushed forward to insist that his organization had done no such thing—had not, presumably, urged the enslaved peoples to exert themselves to regain freedom. "We have presented nothing but objective news and commentaries," he said. "We never urged anyone to revolt." Well then what *is* the policy of Radio Free Europe toward the satellite peoples? To re-enact the story of Tantalus? To hold out the objectively described joys of freedom to its listeners, but in a context that precludes their reaching for that freedom?

● From the *New York Times*, Nov. 7: ". . . in the narrow streets of Buda, right bank section of Budapest, women and children were reported fighting from house to house alongside the men against the Soviet army. It seemed a hopeless struggle, but the revolutionaries would not submit . . ." From the *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 7: ". . . a massive Russian army of 200,000 men and 5,600 tanks is battering Hungary in a vicious assault in which not even children are immune from Soviet gunfire. . ." From the New York *Daily Worker*, Nov. 7: ". . . Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world will be celebrating today the 39th Anniversary of the founding of the First socialist land, the USSR. They will be

celebrating the fact that on Nov. 7 a new era in human society was inaugurated, one that will eventually eliminate all exploitation, war, oppression; that will one day lift the human spirit beyond the limits imposed upon it up to now by dog-eat-dog societies. . ."

● Admiral Charles M. Cooke, testifying before the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee, has pointed to a weakness that destroys much of the value of our intelligence services. Drawing on his own experiences as naval strategist during the war, as commander in the Western Pacific during the postwar years, and, subsequently, as adviser to the Chinese government in Formosa, Admiral Cooke showed how the State Department—and the government generally—is given to tailoring intelligence policy rather than adjusting policy to objective intelligence data. During the period when Chiang Kai-shek was in the doghouse, intelligence reports were acceptable only if they showed what a sorry villain Chiang was. When the State Department wanted to ditch Formosa (in 1949, for example), it produced batches of intelligence reports to prove that Formosa "must" fall in two months or two weeks. Other examples of this practice of what might be called "wishful intelligence" include the glowing reports on Tito and Nasser duly brought in after the State Department had decided to support these two pillars of American foreign policy.

● On November 10, President Sukarno opened Indonesia's Constitutional Convention with a 9,000 word address which, from fragmentary reports, set something of a record for C. P. T. (Contradictions Per Thousand). He wants an absolutely "unitary" and "indivisible" republic where all ethnic groups will have regional autonomy "to live and develop your respective native areas in every possible field." Indonesia must have a "democracy" but a "guided democracy." He viewed with alarm the appearance of "a great many prospective Indonesian capitalists," and declared that the constitution must prohibit a "capitalist system"; though, he added, the "bourgeois elements" in Indonesia are a "progressive group" and must by no means be "liquidated." Questions?

● The higher imagination seems to be working overtime at Yale—and finding an hospitable home in the *Saturday Review*. On the heels of Dr. Laurence Kubie's reflections on some of the difficulties that will follow upon the discovery of means to prolong human life indefinitely, as reported recently in these columns, Dr. Harold Lasswell of the Yale Law School, retiring president of the American Political Science Association, meditates upon another problem scientific progress is creating for us: "Apparently we are closer than most of us like to think to the production of species that occupy an intermediate position between man and the lower animals. . . . In theory, at least, electronic robots can sustain their own existence through constant repair and reproduce themselves by manufacturing and assembling parts. . . . When do we accept these humanoids . . . as at least partial participants in the body politic? At what point do we accept the incorporation of relatively self-perpetuating and mutually influencing 'supermachines' or 'ex-robots' as entitled to the policies expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?" We are referring the problem to Mrs. Roosevelt.

● It actually happened. Scene: a hastily constructed platform draped in red, at the end of a railroad causeway across a lake in East Germany. Time: the present. Characters: construction engineer Kurt Wunsch; a nameless Deputy Director of the Ministry of Planning and Construction; local Party officials and construction workers. Deputy Director presents Wunsch with the "Hero of Labor" award for having saved thousands of tons of steel in the construction of the causeway. He then steps forward and cuts a ribbon across the tracks. A train moves out. Resounding crack, collapse of causeway, derailment of train, end of scene, end of lesson on saving steel, end, one supposes, of Kurt Wunsch.

Why Only Now?

One estimate puts at twenty thousand the number of lives extinguished in the week following the decision of the Soviet Union to suppress the Hungarian revolution. It may be more, or it may be less; after a while, one stops counting, and in fact there is a sense in which it ceases to matter. One's compassion for anonymous victims does not mount in arithmetic proportion to their number, and one's indignation toward the tormentor does not increase according to the number of his victims; for, qualitatively, there is no difference between killing a single person and killing a million.

Which leads us to wonder why the free world has been so galvanized—rhetorically, that is—by the Hungarian episode. All over the world earsplitting denunciations are being hurled. Editorial writers are moved to singular exercise in passion. Heads of state denounce the Communists and the Soviet Union and, dramatically, call upon them to withdraw from Hungary. President Eisenhower, to the suggestion that he might meet with the Soviet leaders and other heads of state in Switzerland, replies, with marked huffiness, No. In Australia there is a moving demonstration of sympathy for members of the Hungarian

Kreuttner

"You heard the gentleman testify that he supported alien conspiracies only because it suited his mood. What's holding up his passport?"

Olympic team as they alight from the plane to learn, for the first time, of the developments in their homeland.

What is the fuss about? Had de-Stalinization led us to believe the Communists incapable of this kind of action against political dissidents? A year or so ago, a research team of the American Federation of Labor estimated at fifteen to twenty-five million the number of persons who had been killed by the Chinese Communists since 1949. There was not a noticeable reaction. However many millions of victims of Stalin's caprice have been released from concentration camps within the Soviet Union in the last year, there are still millions there, millions who will remain and who will, in due course, be joined by other millions. Included among them are a good many non-Russians—Poles, and Lithuanians, and Ukranians, and Czechs, and Rumanians, and Germans, and Japanese, and Hungarians—and, yes, some Americans. Many of them are being tortured every day, some out of sheer vindictiveness, others in line with the persistent effort to extirpate any vestige of resistance to the Communist faith. These people have suffered right along, they were suffering when Eisenhower and Eden were living it up in Geneva, they suffered as Khrushchev spoke of Stalin's inadequacies last February, and they suffered as he kissed the hand of the Queen at Buckingham Palace in March. Why are so many people aroused by Hungary? Because it is more spectacular? Because the executions are public? Or merely because the fate of these particular victims seems especially tragic, given the fact that for a few exhilarating moments it looked as though they had fought their way out of the jungle?

We do not minimize the tragedy of Hungary. But we warn against the highly predictable reaction to the catharsis we are now experiencing. In due course, weeks, or months from now, we shall be seeing Great Changes in the Soviet Union, as the result of this speech, or that defection, or the other "concession"; and, acting on the assumption of that change, we shall be lured, once again, to a common meeting place, to discuss our joint aspirations and pledge our mutual devotion to the cause of peace and justice.

Double Standard

Let us grant, for analysis' sake, the policy framework within which the President has condemned the Israeli-Anglo-French initiative in the Suez region, and has supported a takeover by a "UN Army."

So far as they can be expressed systematically, the ideas that motivated Mr. Eisenhower's position seem to be the following:

1. Our primary objective is to prevent the outbreak of a general nuclear war.

2. The way to do this is to smother each "resort to force" at its outset, before it assumes proportions that might threaten general war.

3. This smothering can be handled most efficaciously through the UN, especially where, the issue of "colonialism" being present, the smaller and newer nations react with suspicion to unilateral action by a great power.

4. Such operations will in the course of time build up a body of "anti-war" international law, together with operative sanctions for its enforcement.

The Administration applied these ideas to the Suez crisis with singleminded speed and vigor. It was unnecessary, granting the conceptual framework, to ask whether the actions of Israel, Britain and France were in all respects unjustified, or to wonder how their success or failure might affect America's own national interest. All such problems were, *ex hypothesi*, irrelevant. The three had "resorted to force" on Egyptian territory. Therefore their moves had to be smothered, and the UN was just the blanket to do the smothering with.

By easy deductions we arrived at: 1) a UN condemnation of Britain, France and Israel; 2) a demand for a cease-fire and withdrawal—made formally by the UN but backed bluntly by all Washington's weight; 3) an overwhelming pressure on Britain and France that compelled them to quit before they had achieved the minimum goals which they had judged essential to their survival; 4) the hasty assembling of a multi-national UN army, which is to replace the Israeli-British-French troops and do something or other—just what no one has yet ventured to say—in Egypt.

So much for the Suez crisis.

Now, how about the Hungarian crisis? It is, plainly, the identical twin of the Suez crisis. As with Suez, then, let us set aside the question of justification. The relevant facts are not in dispute. One nation—a great power, moreover—"resorted to force," and no small quantity of force either, on the territory of another and much smaller nation. And, incidentally, the government of that small nation, before it was forcibly ejected by the great power, appealed formally to the UN for help.

It follows automatically, does it not, that the Administration had, with the same singleminded speed and vigor, to apply the same basic framework of ideas to the Hungarian crisis as to Suez? They must whip to the UN, put instant pressure on the Assembly, issue a virtual ultimatum to "the aggressor" (as in the Suez case), break up delaying moves on the floor, insist on the immediate dispatch of UN observers and a UN army to the disputed region, put our air force at the UN's disposal for that purpose.

Huh! In fact, of course, the United States representatives, from the President down, got some indignant rhetoric on the record, and then hemmed, hawed and stalled around day after day until the Red Army in Hungary pounded through to its goals. Our UN delegates, such adroit parliamentarians in the Suez affair, allowed the Hungarian question to get postponed and buried in technicalities. They did not even introduce a motion calling for physical intervention by the UN in Hungary.

One possible explanation of our delegates' failure to treat Hungary like Egypt, of course, is that Moscow would not have liked it. But then London and Paris presumably did not rejoice over our demanding that they withdraw from Suez. The UN, we may conclude, is a great weapon against aggressors—unless they get too aggressive.

But that is not all. If neither the UN nor ourselves were willing to fight Moscow over Hungary, we might at least have insisted that Dag Hammarskjold, the bold Commander-in-Chief of the budding World Army, lead a corps of his UN observers to the gates of Budapest and—preferably *before* the liquidation of the Freedom Fighters—demand entry. And, in any case, why do we now hesitate to denounce the Soviet Union for flouting the watered resolutions that were adopted, and demand its expulsion from the UN?

In his address of October 31 the President declared that we cannot "invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us—and another for our friends." That, however, is just what we have done. For we have invoked a Draconian code for our friends, and a permissive code, appropriate to a progressive school, for our arch-enemy.

Just This Once More

According to American public law, Hawaii is a "territory" of the United States, governed, like other territories, by a territorial legislature and a territorial governor. According to Harry Bridges, as revealed through his actions in recent years, it is a principality of the Communist-dominated ILWU, governed by himself. It cannot—so, at least, one would like to think—be both; and the long-postponed showdown that will decide which it is may come in the next weeks over Bridges' current attempt to prevent the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee from holding hearings in Honolulu on Communist penetration of Hawaii.

On November 27, members of Bridges' union will descend "en masse" upon the first of the hearings—to "protest," as a preliminary to the territory-wide strike he proposes to stage if the hearings continue. Senator Eastland, with strong backing from the territorial government and the spokesmen for Hawaii's major industries, is apparently going to take his chances on American public law, which conjures up the comforting fantasy of Mr. Bridges behind federal prison bars for contempt of a congressional committee.

We have decided to be, just this once more, on Senator Eastland's side, and to adopt a new editorial policy-plank: No statehood for Hawaii until it purges itself of the Communist unions.

Volunteers for What?

The Bolshevik style possesses a quality of gigantism that often results in behavior that is downright grotesque. It may be observed in the gross architecture and enormous "socialist realist" paintings, as in Stalin's wartime banquets or in the colossal scale of the acts of mass terror—15,000 instead of a dozen officers shot, ten million starved or exiled, and so on.

The current Volunteers for Egypt campaign exhibits this familiar stylistic quality. After a moderate start, it was suddenly blown up into the gigantic—50,000 ready to go from Moscow; 250,000 from Peiping! And God knows how many from that ancient citadel of liberty, Afghanistan!

What is the purpose of this grotesquerie? For let it be carefully noted that the campaign, as conducted, is from a military point of view absurd. There is no way for such multitudes to get to Egypt; there is nothing for them to do if they do get there; there is no food or shelter for them; there are no weapons, there is not enough ammunition for more than a couple of days, even if there were weapons; and no way to bring into Egypt any of these entities—unless the American government has really gone mad, and

permits the goods to go through the Mediterranean.

The purpose, then, cannot be military in any direct sense. It would seem to be, more deviously, fourfold:

First, to impress the Arabs and other peoples of Asia and Africa with the figure of Moscow as Big Brother to all colored folk, ready to jump in and protect them against bullies any time, anywhere. But with the Hungarian example of Big Brother's idea of protection before them, the Arabs may not be so eager for Communist protection as Moscow evidently assumes.

Secondly, to get a relatively small number of Soviet operators, military and political, into the Middle Eastern countries, with an eye on the future.

Third, to try by wild promises and threats to keep the shooting going in the Middle East—not with any very definite idea in mind, but just to make trouble in a spot most sensitive for the West, and thereby to keep attention off the troubled Soviet home front. Such provocations are routine in Bolshevik method, and often succeed.

Fourth, to keep the world worried about the possibility of Soviet military forces becoming indeed active in the Middle East.

Fractured Thoughts on the GOP

Does the Eisenhower landslide mean the collapse of conservative political resistance? Who knows? . . . Since 1936, everyone has been calling on the Republican Party to "reform," that is, to move Left. Obediently, the Republican Party began to move. As long as Senator Taft was alive, however, the GOP's forays into Progressivism were halfhearted and unconvincing. But when he lost the last fight, in July 1952, and, a year later, died, the Party cast off its traces, and went at it in earnest . . . So that it was possible for Paul Hoffman to say in 1956, delirious with joy, that under Ike the Party had moved further in four years than in the previous fifty . . . But why, having come so far, didn't the Party sweep everyone off his feet? Eisenhower swept everybody, or nearly everybody, off his feet; but the Party didn't, even those members of it who, during the campaign, faced Heaven, bared their breasts, and swore that Eisenhower was their Leader. Some of these people, like Thornton and McKay, got killed. Hmm . . . Practically everybody agreed this spring that there was precious little difference left between the Democratic Party and the New Republican Party. Now they say that the reason the Republican Party, as such, did so poorly, is that it just didn't move over far enough . . . Summed up the *New York Times*: Dwight Eisenhower "has marked out the path, away from reaction and toward new progress in the field of social legislation, away from isolation and toward full acceptance of the responsibilities of leadership in the field of international action—along which the Republican Party *must continue to move* if it is to win in its own right the confidence of the country." *Continue* to move. Hmm . . . Is there that much room? Or is the *Times* saying the Democratic Party should move too, to make room for New Republicanism? If it's part of the deal for the Democrats to move over, to allow the Republicans to move over to where the Democrats were, so that the Republicans can then get elected, why all the commotion? Why not elect the Democrats to begin with? Hmm. Don't understand . . .

Mr. Dennis Reads the Riot Act

Eugene Dennis moved in last week to restore Communist Party discipline and to rebuild that wall of allegiance to the omniscience and infallibility of the Soviet Union which, having been fissured by last winter's de-Stalinization drive, was cracked apart by the Hungarian slaughter.

That the American Communists had lost their way in the search for a dialectical explanation of Russia's naked aggression in Hungary was apparent from the vacillations of the *Daily Worker*. The Communist organ had pictured the Hungarian freedom fighters, in turn, as revolutionary heros, fascist pawns, imperialist agents and socialist partisans demanding legitimate democratic rights.

When the *Daily Worker* editorials continued soft even after the Soviet suppression of Hungary's patriots, Dennis set out the new Moscow-approved line in an open letter to the *Worker* which we quote in part:

The Soviet Move was legal. "The anti-fascist and pro-peace intervention of the Soviet Army units after Nov. 1, in response to the newly formed Hungarian Workers and Peasants government, was fully in accord with Soviet-Hungary treaty obligations, the Warsaw Pact and the Yalta Agreement."

Treason. "In respect to [*Daily Worker* foreign editor] Joe Clark's column of Nov. 7—a new low has been reached. For the essence of Clark's position is that since 1945—and in contradistinction to postwar Hungary and Poland—Western Germany and Japan point the way to democratic and social advance!"

The American Communist Party seems to be in for a purge of considerable proportions.

So that NATIONAL REVIEW may start new volumes in January and July, following the practice of most weeklies, Volume Two will be extended through December and will include thirty-two numbers.

from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Continued Cloudy

The post-election briefing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the White House last week was something less than epochal. Top Administration officials told the Senators that conditions in Central Europe and the Middle East are not conducive to optimism; that the crises are of a continuing character; and that no solutions for the problems are on tap or anticipated. In the four-hour session no one admitted that expediency is still the order of the day but, on the other hand, there was no serious claim that the United States had at last evolved or even approached the basis for a firm, recognizable foreign policy. Our foreign policy remains malleable ("capable of being extended or shaped by beating with a hammer, or by the pressure of rollers"—*Webster*).

Some of the more naive Senators were disappointed when the Administration failed to provide even a blueprint for a long-range program, but advocates of the Administration professed to see happy solutions through the ministrations of the UN. Senator Walter George, chairman of the Committee in the 84th Congress, was sure that "the situation can and will be worked out. . . ."

Senator Theodore Green of Rhode Island, who succeeds George as Chairman, failed to share his predecessor's euphoria. Said Green: "I don't think the situation is well in hand. Anything may happen." Senator Fulbright of Arkansas reported that he questioned Administration officials in vain for any new imaginative ideas. The status is quo. . . .

Barring Death and Caprice

The odds are heavy that the Democrats will exercise the Senate control they won at the polls. As a potential Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate in 1960, Senator-elect Lausche would be cutting his political throat on the Capitol steps if he voted with the GOP on organization. In view of his well-known political acumen, it is incredible that he ever seriously considered such a course. The Senate will be organized on or about January 3; Mr. Lausche is not retiring as Governor of Ohio until January 14.

Senator Price Daniel, who is retiring to become Governor of Texas, announced in September that he would not leave his Senate seat until January 15 unless a successor were elected and qualified before that date. But Governor Shivers, who would like to *appoint* a successor, made no move to call a special election. The controversy is still boiling but Daniel shows no intention of clearing the way for a Shivers appointee who quite conceivably would be a Republican. Unless Senator-elect Javits changes his mind, he will remain as New York's Attorney General until January 9. With Lausche and Javits not yet seated and Daniel holding the fort for the Democratic majority, the Senate-control score board should read 48 Democrats, 46 Republicans. Only death or caprice could give the Republicans a majority.

The Changing South

There is a possibility that the Democratic solidarity in the South has been as hopelessly shattered as Humpty Dumpty's eggshell. Tradition is still strong in Dixie but its durability is now questionable in view of other new and powerful factors.

Intra-party quarrels were responsible for a breakaway from the straight Democratic ticket as far back as 1948 when Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and one elector from Tennessee bolted to the States Rights Party. A continuing influx of Northern industry is gradually eliminating the class of "poor whites" that blindly voted the straight Democratic ticket.

No one knows the actual number of Negroes voting in the South but it is steadily and rapidly increasing; and in the recent election this vote went overwhelmingly to the Republican candidate. In most Southern states, Republican organization until recent years has been nominal or non-existent, but the GOP's organizational activities in the South will unquestionably be intensified in the next four years. In the meantime, the bitter breach between Northern and Southern Liberals is widening.

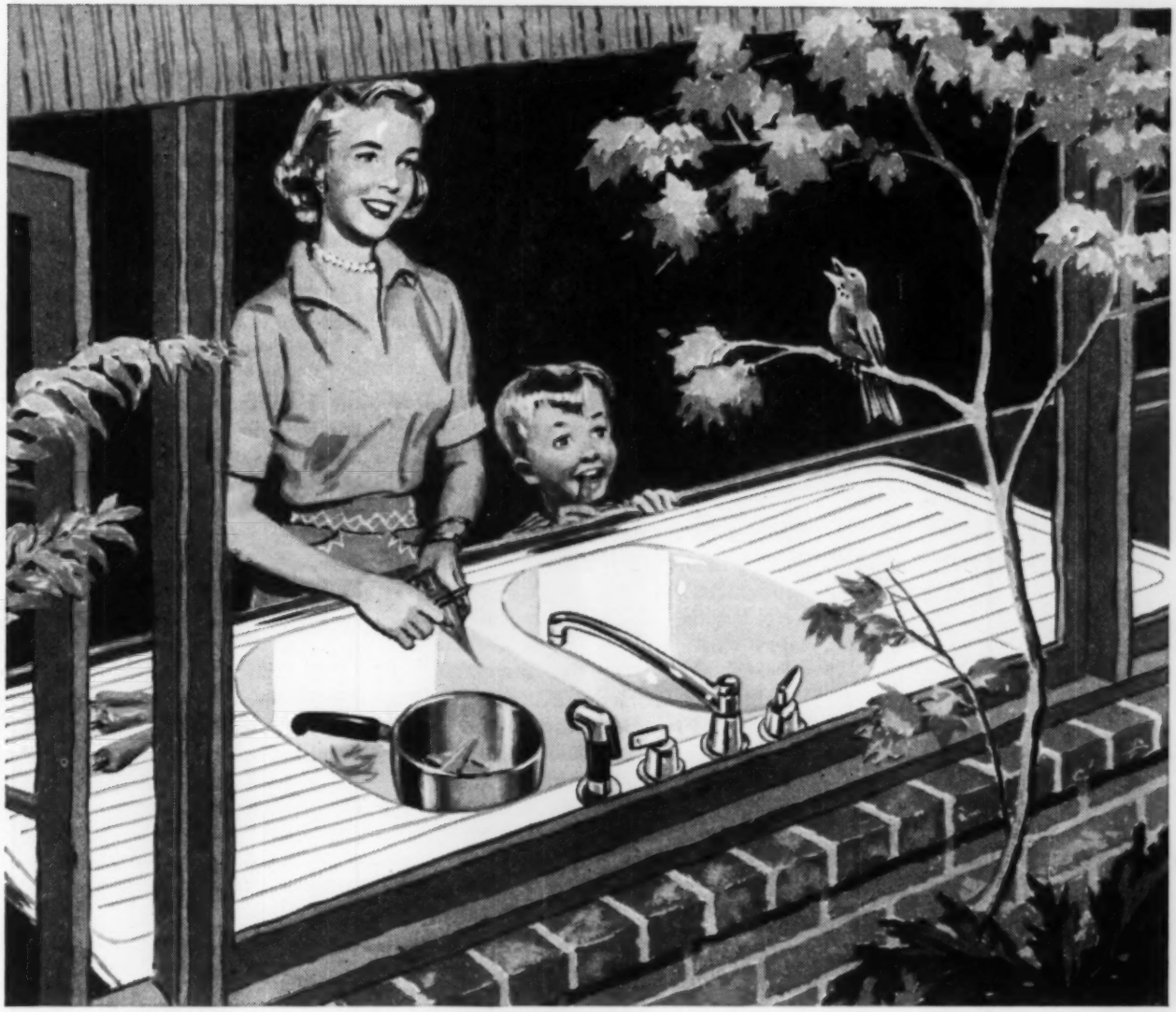
Scalps Wanted

Several Cabinet changes may be in the offing. Since January 20, 1953, there have been consistent, tireless efforts to "get" Secretary Ezra Taft Benson. His friends are convinced that a new onslaught is shaping up. The demands for Benson's resignation will be reinforced by Republican congressional casualties in farm states, although there is no logic in this factor since some of the high parity Republican Congressmen fared no better than those who subscribed to the Benson formula.

Secretary Wilson, whose gaucherie is more renowned than his perception, has a good chance to retire without White House objection. His most recent contribution to the "foot-in-mouth" stockpile was a comment that the Middle East crisis was just a "ripple" in the sea of international affairs.

Secretary Dulles' operation has provided his critics with a fresh and powerful argument for his removal. It is widely believed that Governor Dewey could have the job and that he doesn't want it. Governor Christian Herter is the heir presumptive if Dulles resigns and Dewey refuses, but UN Ambassador Lodge and Gen. McCloy have powerful advocates.

President Eisenhower is in a position to ignore all demands for Cabinet changes—provided he is satisfied. On Benson at least, it is almost impossible to believe that he would yield to the largely left-wing forces that have so persistently fought for the Secretary's ouster.



KOHLER *CLEARFIELD*

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The Road Ahead

For Dwight Eisenhower

The President's off-the-cuff remarks in the Sheraton Park ballroom election night startled even his closest advisers. By tradition, a Presidential candidate's victory statement consists of some humbly grateful words for the party workers, some magnanimous words for the losers and a plea for national unity. Dwight Eisenhower's statement was a sustained and singularly graceless whoopee. He mentioned his supporters at the outset, to be sure; but less to thank them than to compliment them for having "understood what the Administration [oops]—the Republican Party—has been trying to do in these past four years." From that point on he simply crowed: "I think that modern Republicanism has now proved itself. And America has approved modern Republicanism. . . . It will continue to increase in power and influence for decades to come."

General Eisenhower's victory dance betrayed much about the man—for one thing the importance he attached to sheer winning. It helps explain his boundless fury at congressional refusal to enact the Administration's program during the early months of his regime—at a time when his best friends will concede that he neither knew nor cared enough about the content of his measures to be all that concerned with their fate. It also gives some clues, if they are needed, as to his probable conduct in the months ahead. Dwight Eisenhower will move straight ahead or to the left, depending on what congressional alliances are necessary to forward his program. If GOP Congressmen behave themselves in sufficient numbers to enact Administration legislation, the content of the "New Republicanism" will remain pretty much what it has been over the years. If, on the other hand, the surviving conservative GOP legislators vote their ideological predilections, the President will seek support from the Democrats and will pay the price necessary to get it. *I.e.*, he will increasingly conform his program to theirs.

For another thing, the President's remarks make clear whom he regards as the enemy. It was not, curiously enough, the political party he had just defeated at the polls. (In fact, one got the impression that the President views the Democrats as *de facto* allies in the main battle that is being fought.) The enemy was the GOP right wing, which is now, the President was saying, doomed. In the President's eyes, the mandate the right wing had helped him win was a mandate to exterminate the right wing, and he left little doubt that he regarded the completion of this chore as his chief domestic obligation in the months ahead.

For Richard Nixon

The Vice President's future course is as plain as the way to the parish church. He will try to keep in the President's favor. Nixon must proceed on the assumption that the President will survive his term; and within that assumption the operative fact is that the President will have absolute power, if he chooses to exercise it, to name his successor. Nixon's task will be to persuade the President to exercise that power, directly or indirectly, in Nixon's behalf. For those purposes, words and deeds that demonstrate on Nixon's part an unreserved commitment to the New Republicanism are a *sine qua non*.

The President may, of course, adopt a strictly hands-off policy toward the nomination come 1960. If Nixon could bank on that, he would conduct himself in the next four years with an eye to how he thinks the delegates to the 1960 Convention will feel about the New Republicanism. But since he cannot bank on that he will not be able to challenge the New Republicanism, even if he is so inclined.

Should Eisenhower fail to survive his term, Nixon would have the 1960 nomination in the bag, and would, upon his succession to the Presidency, be free to consider the viability of the New Republicanism *vis-à-vis* the electorate—something the rest of the Republican Party is thinking about today.

For the Republican Party

Every one has said it: the election was a resounding triumph for Mr. Eisenhower and a resounding defeat for the Republican Party. Perhaps more observers than have done so, ought to add that it was a resounding defeat for the *New* Republican Party. After all, it is the New Republican Party that was up for election this year. With few exceptions GOP candidates for national office ran on the Eisenhower record and the Eisenhower program, and as a whole they ran very badly—given the overwhelming vote for the President. Why?

Putting aside local peculiarities like the Hodge scandal in Illinois, there are, generally speaking, two possible hypotheses. Either the electorate thought the GOP's Senate and House candidates were not conservative enough, and registered that judgment by not voting in the legislative contest. Or the electorate thought the GOP's Senate and House candidates were too conservative and registered *that* judgment by voting for Demo-

(*Continued on p. 17*)

Hungary—the West's Darkest Hour

Hungarian patriots fleeing into Austria, says an on-the-spot report, found the West generous and free—but where was its honor?

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Perhaps everything will be saved—except honor. This is the reaction of every impartial observer of the Hungarian tragedy which, excepting the drama of the Warsaw rising in 1944, is the most monstrous single happening in modern history. The Western dishonesties, the cowardice, the mutual misunderstandings, the knaveries, evasions and trickeries, but also the indomitable courage of the Hungarians who have given the world one of the most shining examples of heroism, form the pattern of a unique and tragic story. Here we have one of the most misunderstood and maligned nations of that East Central Europe which was brutally carved up in 1919, performing deeds which never will be forgotten as long as man lives.

Of course, one has to bear in mind that East Europeans, in the eyes of the "civilized West," always were expendable; after all they were less "enlightened," clean, constructive, level-headed, literate, technologically minded than the liberal and "progressive" nations of the North. They were simply "Bohunks." Neither in Britain nor in the United States would public opinion ever have tolerated the Soviet Union's dealing with a Nordic country in the same summary way as with Poland. And the Hungarians, like the Poles, on top of it all were notorious for not being sufficiently "democratically minded." At the end of World War Two a certain propaganda with White House ties denounced them as "aristocratic-fascist," while at the same time limitless praise was heaped upon the Czechs and their allegedly shrewd and great leader, Dr. Benes, a vain nitwit who at the first opportunity sold his nation into Red servitude. It is quite true that there is an aristocratic aspect of the Polish and Hungarian character, an aspect to be found in all classes, which prompts these nations rather to die than be slaves and to put chivalry and liberty above mere physical survival.

Certain of U.S. Aid

And if one listens to the refugees from Hungary, their eyes red from sleepless nights, their cheeks hollow from hunger, to these human wrecks tottering over the Austrian border, then one sees the terrible extent of the misunderstandings which have resulted in this carnage. It is evident that the Western world, while knowing certain facts about the state of affairs east of the Iron Curtain, was not on the alert. Far more tragic was the mistake of the Hungarian people about the meaning of the changes in Poland, about the basic attitudes of the West, about the interpretation of the assurances and encouragements they received over the airwaves. The hapless Hungarians had no commentators at their elbow; they understood the repeated declarations of Americans in most responsible positions as real invitations to insurrection and not merely as consolations for capital errors committed in the past by the U.S. Government or as devices to please the immigrant vote. The average Hungarian, we are being told by the rescued remnant of a desperately fighting citizenry, listened with bated breath to these official messages broadcast by a variety of radio stations. They were sure that if they revolted, if the Russians were confronted by the solid ranks of a nation ready to fight, ready to die, then the Red Army would withdraw in face of world opinion and of the moral and military might of the United States, the United Nations and NATO.

When the "Titoization" of Hungary got out of hand and the whole nation, from the supposedly indoctrinated student to the card-carrying "proletarian," rose as one man, the initial success surpassed all expectations. Imre Nagy, the old Titoist, was literally swept off his feet. This old-line Communist who invoked UN aid discovered that he was a Hungarian after all. And from certain meek first demands the cry grew to the demand for total liberty, total independence. In the initial stages of the affair the confusion in the Kremlin must have been indescribable. Tito himself, at first furious at Khrushchev for having been duped by Gero's succession to Rákosi, then pleased by Imre Nagy's emergence, then again horrified at the sudden evolution toward straight anti-Communism, also was at a loss what stand to take. (The Yugoslav Press protested loudly against the "reactionary rising" and then, though less vociferously, against the Russian intervention which also potentially menaces an internally divided Yugoslavia.) And all of a sudden there emerged a definite chance that the Hungarians might succeed against all the terrible odds, that they could triumph singlehandedly without evoking the specter of another world war.

Effect of Suez Crisis

But then came an event which the Hungarian refugees in surprising unison connect with the disastrous and not totally expected return of the Russians. The earlier grievance of those seeking asylum was the absence of any Western aid, the amazing absence even of the American Red Cross —I am quoting Hungarians—the ominous silence or the empty verbosity from the chancelleries of many nations. Then came the realization of the military moves in the Suez crisis and the even more incredible news about Anglo-French intervention—in Egypt of all places. Such an intervention, however justified at another time, now seemed "unthink-

able" because everything had to be carefully avoided which could serve the Soviets as an excuse for their armed return to Hungary. But that was precisely what happened.

It can be reasoned that the Russians would have come back anyhow, but we are by no means sure. By the very fact of the insurrection the Soviets had suffered a great moral defeat, and through a new wave of oppression their evil record would deteriorate even further; now it was impossible to maintain that they came again as liberators or that the rising had been organized by wealthy fascist landowners. Yet the Red Army returned because Moscow was convinced that in the light of the intervention in Egypt world opinion would consider Russia's crushing of a rebellion merely as an analogous misdeed not a whit worse than the Suez landings. Of course this comparison is nonsensical, but this undoubtedly was the line of reasoning taken. As a result the name of Eden, if not of Britain, is cursed not only in the Arabic world, not only in Hungary, but all over Europe.

Disillusionment

The Hungarian refugees arrived in Austria with a feeling of boundless astonishment and disillusionment. So this was the famous Free World of the West! True, they were so charitably treated and so enthusiastically welcomed by the Austrians that the Russian press set up a howl about a "broken neutrality." Viennese car owners, supplementing the ambulances, organized a shuttle service to the border, bringing in Hungarians in every stage of collapse and with every sort of injury. Doctors worked overtime. This Western world was rich, it was kind, it was free, it was hospitable—but where was its sense of honor? Admittedly it was generous. The Austrians through their Red Cross supplied clothes, food, medical instruments (those at the hospital of Magyaróvár were so inferior that they did not cut properly); the Swiss, the Dutch and the Belgian Red Cross organizations also did wonders. But where was the armed aid? Where were the planes, ammunition and machine guns? We know the answer . . . we who sit here on the right side of the Curtain realized the deadly and suicidal possibilities of a third world war—and kept aloof.

Still, there are other questions which have not been answered. What would have happened if the free West had actually dropped "volunteers" from the skies? Would this have been the beginning of an atomic World War Three? This is by no means certain because even Messrs. Zhukov and Khrushchev are not, as their translated names indicate, sons of insects and junebugs, but (however dehumanized) human beings who like the material pleasures of an earthly life. An American airlift not only to Hungary but, at a later date, to all satellite states would have tied down the whole Red Army.

There are definite lessons to be learned from the Hungarian rebellion, such as the necessity of arming practically all of the European civilian population, and doing it right now. If ever the Red Army should actually strike and reach the Channel ports it could be drowned in blood since it is heavily outnumbered by the teeming millions of European civilians. The Soviets, no doubt, have their troubles too. Everybody in Austria speculates on how the present Kádár government is going to rule Hungary and whether that unfortunate country can now be anything else than a permanently occupied military colony consisting of ruins.

One also wonders how cleverly the martyrdom of the Hungarian people will be exploited by American propaganda in Asia. (The Magyars, like the Turks and the Finns, are of Asiatic origin.) The West has impotently and dishonorably witnessed the death struggle of the Hungarian people. Hanging its head in shame, it should dedicate itself to the task of making political capital of this magnificent suffering for the cause of freedom, the cause the Hungarians died for.

The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

The Case of the Missing Quid Pro Quo

The Liberal propaganda machine, as noted in this space from time to time, never gives up on the desegregation issue in the South. It *cannot* give up on it, for one thing because that issue is the ground it has chosen for its definitive battle with the white Southeners (who remain a major political barrier to the ushering-in of the "New America"). It cannot, secondly, because "implementing" the Supreme Court's desegregation decision is the indispensable next step (as, in their time, the women's suffrage and income tax amendments were indispensable next steps) in the levelling program to which, above all else, the Liberals are pledged. And it cannot, finally, because desegregation is the one live issue on which it has both a) committed its prestige, and b) been taking a licking.

Make no mistake about its prestige being committed, or about the licking either. The machine, indeed, has gone so far in pressing its demand that the desegregation decision be enforced as to give the United States Supreme Court a kind of support that, on this columnist's reading of history, it has never had before. The Liberals are asserting, in effect, that there is *no* appeal from Supreme Court rulings, that the Supreme Court must *at all costs* be obeyed, and its interpretation of the Constitution accepted, *no matter what it says;* and—this being the most novel of the new emphases—that the Supreme Court has the final say not only about legality but about ethics as well. This, clearly, is the sort of all-out, uncompromising position from which, in politics, there is no backing-down without intolerable loss of face.

As for the licking, by the time the votes were cast in the Presidential election, it had assumed the proportions of a rout. Only last spring the desegregationists had good reason to hope that, before long, they would maneuver the two major parties into raising the ante on one another with promises of compulsory desegregation. But then came Mr. Stevenson's unexpected plug—necessary unless he was willing to kiss the Southern electoral votes goodbye, but still unexpected—for "moderation." After that, Mr. Eisenhower gave Nixon an easily discernible go-ahead to make the most of the pickle the Democrats had got themselves into, namely, that they had to lose either the Negro vote in the North or the white vote in the South. The Republicans, by talking big—but promising nothing—about the importance of desegregating the schools, could now latch onto the Negro vote in the North and yet not greatly prejudice their bid for the white vote in the South. Then came the Conventions, from which both parties emerged without any commitment to make the Southerners behave. Then, in September, the disturbances in the border states, which though they produced different outcomes from town to town, conspicucusly did *not* bring the armed intervention by the federal government that the Liberals had dreamed of.

Then the hot weeks of the campaign, in which the major candidates for the most part let the desegregation issue disappear, and when they didn't let it disappear urged counsels of moderation. Then—with six Southern states openly "defying" the Supreme Court's desegregation mandate—that awful moment, shortly before the election, when Mr. Eisenhower told an audience in Florida that he, for one, regarded the desegregation issue as primarily a matter for the states and the localities. And, finally, the election returns themselves, which however much they may have pleased the Liberals in other respects, guaranteed the continuance of segregationist white Southerners in a whole series of major committee chairmanships.

And the end result? Congressman Powell's defection may perhaps have swung a lot of Negro votes to Eisenhower, but the desegregationists do not have in hand a quid pro quo for those votes that warrants any optimism on their part about the future of the Southern schools. And if the use of force to back up the Supreme Court decision had ever been the issue (as the Liberal propaganda machine had certainly wished it to be) the American party system has, in its traditional manner, side-stepped it—and, by postponing a Yes or No answer, has in effect answered No, thus perpetuating the no-use-of-force status quo. The white Southerners, in a word, have not been read out of the community. And that means that the machine has taken a disastrous licking.

New Major Themes

Congressman Powell will in due time present his bill for services rendered to the White House; and, because the machine does not and cannot give up on the desegregation issue, he will do so with strong backing from the machine's operators. Perhaps, even, desegregation is the issue on which it will finally break with Eisenhower. But this columnist's guess, on the strength of his "feel" for the intellectual and moral climate in the Liberal publications he follows, is that the machine—and, ultimately, Congressman Powell himself—will accept the electoral verdict on the use of military force in the South, and will put the heat on the President to exert coercive pressure on the South in other ways. If so, it behooves us to think forward to the kind of measures the machine will demand, and the arguments it will put forward on their behalf. For since the President is by no means certain to react favorably to them, and since even if he does he is not likely to get much cooperation from several strategically-situated committee chairmen, we are likely to hear a good deal about them in the months and years ahead. Thanks to the industry and foresight of the *Reporter,* which shortly before the election published an article by Charles Abrams entitled "What the President Should Do About Desegregation," it is easy to predict the major themes of the new line.

They will be as follows:

—*Demands for implementation at*

the point of federal guns are, given the commitments of the two major parties, unrealistic. Our two parties, writes Mr. Abrams, have at least "agreed on what not to do." The Democrats "would leave enforcement to the courts alone." The Republicans, who believe that the use of force and violence would "worsen the many problems inherent in the situation," promise nothing beyond "intelligent study, understanding, education and goodwill"—which, Mr. Abrams seems to be thinking, will not move things along very fast.

—The idea that the courts can bring about compliance through their own resources is both false and self-defeating. "A court's entire personnel," Mr. Abrams reminds us in a passage reminiscent of a famous Supreme Court decision, "consists of a stenographer and some attendants. It has no facilities for educating the public, no public-relations funds . . . no nation-wide staff to counteract the obstruction of local officials." It must rely, he goes on in effect, on contempt orders, enforceable in the first instance by federal marshals and at the margin by the military; moreover, it issues such orders only in rare cases, and—back to the first theme—"it is hard to see [but, we might add, was not a year ago] how bayonets can compel Southern parents to send their children into mixed classrooms."

—The courts require—and are entitled to—the assistance of the other branches of government when compliance with their orders is refused. Here Mr. Abrams adroitly cites Mr. Eisenhower's own Attorney General: "Every officer and agency of the government, federal, state and local, is . . . charged with the duty of enforcing the Constitution and the rights guaranteed under it." Which to Mr. Abrams of course means the Constitution as the Supreme Court interprets it, and the rights as the Supreme Court defines them.

—The federal government has failed to live up to its obligations with respect to desegregation, and with disastrous results: ". . . that duty has never been assumed by the federal government and its agencies. The consequence has been an ever-increasing amount of open defiance."

—More concretely, the task of securing compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision is up to the President. "The primary responsibility for enforcing federal law rests on the Executive"; and failure on his part to discharge that responsibility involves "repudiation of the judicial power, with dire consequences for the national integrity."

—It is not true that the Executive must choose between enforcement via the military and acquiescence in nullification; this is an outmoded and therefore false dilemma. The "force" available to the Executive for compelling compliance with the desegregation decision is by no means exclusively a matter of "police and military action"; it may include "extra-legal devices such as political, economic, or moral influences."

Presidential Compulsion

—With the non-military powers now at the disposal of the federal government, the President could easily compel Southern compliance. The federal government, exults Mr. Abrams, is today a "dynamic sovereignty"; its influence pervades "every aspect of the economy"; its "welfare power" has become "substantive"; it is our greatest "source for spending and lending money for new ventures"; "housing and city development" depend on it for financing; it "grants huge subsidies"; it "builds dams, atom plants, roads, and public works." Thus a "whole arsenal of devices exists upon which the President may now draw"; and he may draw on them confident in the knowledge that "continued resistance to federal authority" is "unthinkable."

—If, then, segregation continues in the South, it will do so as a result of a free choice by the President not to use his powers. One possibility "is to do nothing, or, as President Eisenhower has put it, to wait until the 'hearts of men' are changed." But if he does that it will simply mean that the "irresponsibles" will continue to exercise "command."

—A Presidential commission must be named, to dish the South with a public-relations campaign. Such a commission could "conduct open hearings, bringing out the views of educators, churchmen . . . by patiently presenting constructive views . . . [it] could begin building a case for a return to law."

—The President must bring his patronage power to bear on the desegregation issue: "The responsible elements in the South—the Sparkmans, the Kefauvers, the Hills, the Fulbrights—should be favored, even though they may disagree with the Supreme Court ruling."

—The President should see to it that non-complying communities suffer economically. "Allocations of public works projects," writes Mr. Abrams, "could favor communities that show respect for law."

—The President, acting through the Attorney General, can use certain existing criminal statutes as weapons for bending the South to his will. For example, Mr. Abrams notes, it is a crime "to obstruct justice," to disregard "certain court orders," to "conspire to deprive a citizen of his civil rights"; and the relevant statutes "afford an opportunity for the assertion of Federal authority" over the segregationists.

—It is right that such a program should be carried out, because the final authority of the Supreme Court is moral as well as legal. Here, for documentation, we must desert Mr. Abrams and turn to a recent *New Republic* article by Professor Alexander M. Bickel of Yale Law School ("Integration: the Second Year in Practice"). If only the Court "remains firm and insistent," Professor Bickel argues, "the adherents of segregation will in the end find their flight from the plain justice of the Court's doctrine to be as unnerving and as fruitless as the poet's flight from"—I like to think he intends no sacrilege—"the Hound of Heaven." The segregationist can flee It, of course, "down the nights and down the days," and down the "labyrinthine ways of his own mind"; he can hide from It, in the "mist of tears" and "under running laughter"; he can shoot, precipitated, from "those strong Feet" that follow, follow, follow.

> But with unhurrying chase,
> And unperturbed pace,
> Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
> They beat—and a Voice beat
> More instant than the Feet—
> "All things betray thee, who betrayest Me."

Which is the kind of thing this columnist means when he speaks in the classroom, these days, of the current apotheosis of the Supreme Court.

The Amazing Mr. Diem

Vietnam, says the author, may turn out to be an Asian bastion of freedom. And in reporting an interview with its President, she tells why

FREDA UTLEY

Vietnam bids fair to become another such secure outpost of the Free World as Formosa. This prospect is due mainly to the remarkable personality, courage and political sagacity of its President, Ngo-Dinh Diem, and to the knowledge of Communism painfully gained by the experience of its people. But credit must also be given to the intelligent policy now being pursued by the United States in this war-torn country, the northern half of which was relinquished to the Communists by the Geneva agreement of July 1954.

The China lesson has been learned. America no longer demands that the people on our side run before they can walk. Instead of hampering, or destroying, President Diem's authority by requiring that he place "democracy" before security and freedom from the Communist menace, we are backing him in his extraordinarily successful efforts to bring law and order, good government, confidence and a measure of prosperity to his people.

This fact is all the more remarkable because President Diem refuses to put the cart before the horse in order to please American "Liberals." He frankly states that his primary concern is the survival of Vietnam in face of external and internal pressures. In his own words, "The freedom of the country must take precedence over the freedom of the individual to do what he likes; we must defend the essential, the national institutions of Vietnam, without which there would be no democracy but simply disorder, and this until final disintegration."

Under the French colonial regime the Vietnamese enjoyed neither liberty nor opportunity nor security. Educational facilities were meager; few government posts were open to them and business was in the hands of the French and the Chinese. For a decade following the defeat of Japan they lacked protection from robbery and extortion, violence and murder by Communist bandits, the private armies of the "sects"—some of which were subsidized by the French in their futile endeavor to fight against the Communists while also suppressing the Vietnamese nationalists who demanded an end to colonial rule. Today, the people have at last secured a breathing space. They can now gather the fruit of their toil on the farms in peace and security and have a government of their own choice.

Near-Miracle

Two years ago President Diem could not safely leave his palace in Saigon, and it is only within the past six months that his government has won complete control over the country. Today, as I have seen for myself by visiting refugee camps, one can drive without fear along roads dotted by abandoned blockhouses in which French soldiers used to spend anxious nights in a Communist-infested countryside.

American aid, although far smaller than the huge sums we poured out to France on the Indo-Chinese account, has enabled President Diem to perform the near-miracle of restoring law and order; resettling, or otherwise providing for, nearly a million refugees and escapees from the Communist north; and securing the frontiers of the free half of his country. Our help is given through the import of consumption goods, the sale of which by the Vietnam government generates the counterpart funds used mainly to maintain its armed forces, including the cost of their food, clothing and pay. It also provides a little assistance for the refugees who owe more to Catholic and other Christian missions and charities than to American government aid. We do not pay the cost of the police forces needed to combat Communist subversion, insurrection and banditry. Nor is there much left over for reconstruction and development of the country's rich natural resources.

The $200 million we gave to Vietnam last year compares favorably with the $93 million we granted to the Chinese National Government on Formosa, which maintains armed forces five or six times as large for the defense of our Pacific ramparts, and whose government officials and officers live more austere lives on smaller salaries than the Vietnamese. But our aid to our even more perilously situated Vietnamese allies on the mainland—confronted by heavily armed Vietnam Communist forces to the North; "neutral" Cambodia and Laos to the West; and the Chinese Communist island of Hainan to the East—does not appear overly generous in comparison with the gifts we have made to such friends of our enemies as Yugoslavia and India. As against embattled and ravaged Vietnam's receipt of $200 million in 1955, we gave $81 million to Yugoslavia and $62 million to India, in addition to the "sale" at bargain prices of American agricultural surpluses to these "uncommitted" countries. Nor is it conducive to the maintenance of the morale of such brave allies as the Vietnamese to know that neighboring Cambodia and Laos, which are playing footsie with Moscow and Peking, are continuing to receive American aid.

However, American policy toward Vietnam is today enlightened and intelligent, and the amount of financial assistance we are giving is held to be all that the country can absorb without inflation. It has also to be noted on the credit side of American policy that U.S. Information Service

expenditures in Vietnam, amounting to $750,000 a year, are used mainly to build up confidence in President Diem's government. Working on the assumption that Diem's support is largely rural thanks to the farmer's experience of Communist terror and atrocities, USIS concentrates its efforts on helping the government get information to the countryside by means of motion pictures carried and displayed by trucks; or of placards and posters which are read out to their neighbors by the literate people in every area. USIS also helps the Vietnamese Ministry of Information set up information halls in towns and villages; and to maintain boat units operating along the canals which are the only means of communication in many parts of the country, and which still require police protection from Communists and other lawless elements. One needs only to contrast the manner in which the OWI in postwar China concentrated its efforts on discrediting Chiang Kai-shek and his government while General Marshall was, in effect, insisting that China submit to Moscow by forming a coalition government with the Communists, to realize what a sea change America's Far Eastern policy has undergone in the Eisenhower era.

Today, instead of undermining the morale of the people on our side by denigrating Diem's administration or by making premature demands for "democratic" reforms, we are giving the government of Vietnam the confidence engendered by having a big, strong friend behind it. It would by now perhaps be desirable to let the people of Vietnam know that the shirts, socks, shoes, cloth, sewing machines and other manufactured goods they buy, are gifts from America. This fact is obscured by the purchaser having to pay cash so that he may not realize that his money goes to support his country's armed forces defending it against the menace of the Communist regime in the north. But there is no doubt that we have been wise in concentrating our efforts, not on evoking gratitude to America, but in strengthening a friendly anti-Communist government which has proved its courageous determination to defy the Communists which menace it on all sides.

President Diem's operations against Communists, bandits, and the feudal elements represented by the "sects" have of necessity been rough. They are therefore hard to take by Americans and Englishmen who cannot, or will not, see that Communist intimidation and subversion, together with Moscow's and Peking's hypocritical appeal to the ignorant and to the eggheads for the institution of a Western-type democracy in Asia (while themselves maintaining a totalitarian tyranny over all the countries they control) require stern measures of suppression, incompatible with the American Bill of Rights or other constitutional safeguards of personal freedom. In the countries of the West which have long enjoyed the blessings of freedom under law, where representative government was gradually developed by trial and error over the centuries, and which are not as yet directly menaced by Communist conquest from within or without, we are too prone to ignore the problems of less fortunate lands. As President Diem reminded me, even the United States curtails liberties in wartime, and during the War Between The States Lincoln said that survival must come first. "Many countries," Diem continued, "have beautiful constitutions, but they are not applied. We are not at peace; there is only an armistice, and our Communist enemies are continually increasing their military strength."

Moreover, as Mr. Rheinhart, our very well-informed and intelligent Ambassador to Saigon, who is an expert in Communism thanks to his former service in Moscow, said to me: "It is far harder to institute representative government today than a century or two ago, when its functions were limited."

Moral Courage

President Diem, with whom I had a two-hour interview, impressed me as being that rare phenomenon, an intellectual with faith and a man of action with moral as well as physical courage. No one who meets him can fail to be impressed by the depth and strength of his Catholic faith, or his belief in the dignity of man and his hatred of tyranny. His political philosophy, which might best be decribed as Eurasian, stems also in large part from the Confucian morality and political precepts of his Ming Mandarin ancestors who fled to Indo-China after the Manchu conquest of China, and to his own schooling in the Mandarinate college of the former Emperors of Vietnam. Thus to President Diem, "democracy" in its Western forms is not ultimate truth, or the answer everywhere at all times to mankind's age-old quest for good government and justice. While recognizing the fact that the institutions and constitutions developed by the Anglo-Saxon peoples have produced the blessings of liberty for them and a few other peoples, he does not believe that they are suited to Asiatic nations with very different traditions and experience, which have only recently emerged from a colonial status. In his own words:

"The fundamental fact about Vietnam, which is generally not well understood, is that historically our political system had been based on the concept of the management of public affairs not by the people or their representatives, but rather by an enlightened sovereign and an enlightened government. This system worked because the public offices were open to all by way of competitive examination. The system worked also because there was a strict moral code, and, although in the course of our history, we now and then had a bad king, on the whole the government had a strong sense of public duty and responsibility to the people."

While accepting the fact that Confucian concepts of good government have been discredited or lost validity in the modern world, Diem insists that "Democracy is not (or should not be) either material happiness or the supremacy of numbers . . . [but] a continuing effort to find the right political means for assuring to all citizens the right of free development and of maximum initiative, responsibility, and spiritual life."

The following passage from a speech he made on April 17 of this year illustrates the similarity of his political concepts to those of the Founding Fathers of our Republic:

> Citizens are born free and equal before the law. The state should assure them equal conditions for the exercise of their rights and the accomplishment of their duties. . . . Citizens have the right to a secure and peaceful life, to justly remuner-

ated work, to sufficient individual property to assure a dignified and free life, to democratic freedoms, and to the full development of their personalities.

In his proclamation in October 1955, in the midst of his hard struggle to overcome the Communist and feudal forces arrayed against his government, President Diem showed a better realization of the essence of liberty than many Americans when he said:

> Democracy is not a group of texts and laws, to be read and applied. It is essentially a state of mind, a way of living with the utmost respect toward every human being, ourselves as well as our neighbors. **It requires constant** self-education, careful practice, flexible and patient attention, in order to achieve a harmonious balance between the desirably diverse conceptions of men and the inevitable complexity of reality. Democracy demands from each of us infinitely greater efforts, understanding and good will than any other form of government.

Being a realist, Diem has no patience with those who demand the immediate establishment of "democracy" among a people who still have to learn what representative government means, and whose primary concern is survival in face of the Communist menace. As he said to me, "If we had enough judges and police we could found all the institutions you want." He is scornful of "the defeatists who used to say that it was impossible for us to establish an independent self-governing Vietnam because of the strength and ability of the colonialists and the feudal elements, but who now reproach us for not having immediately instituted a Constituent Assembly—which would have meant allowing brigands to be elected." These same dissident elements, he continued, now tell the people "who are rejoicing because they have emerged from the nightmare of the past decade, that they are mistaken in feeling happy because they have security, and rice in their granaries; that they are really miserable even if they do not realize it."

Diem is nevertheless confident in the strength and support of "the new elements who have faith and are willing to sacrifice themselves. Men are still dying," he said, "to assure the security of the peasants and the intellectuals; their fresh graves should be respected by those for whom they died."

At the end of my interview, during which we spoke French, President Diem pronounced himself *"enchanté"* with Vice President Nixon and heartened by what he had said last summer on his visit to the Philippines, Formosa and Vietnam. His final words to me were:

"America must reassure the small countries standing up to the Communist menace that we can rely on her. If America should recognize Red China the effect on all the free countries of Asia would be disastrous."

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Cont'd from p. 10*)

crats. The second hypothesis permits, again generally speaking, two subhypotheses. The GOP's Senate and House candidates were thought to be too conservative because they were regarded as election-year converts to the New Republicanism, whereas, for example, Dwight Eisenhower was regarded as a true believer. Or they were thought to be too conservative because the New Republicanism itself was regarded as too conservative, in which case Eisenhower's vote is to be explained solely in terms of his personal popularity, in which case also the great American consensus is actually somewhere to the left of where Arthur Larson located it.

The difficulty with the first hypothesis is that there is simply no evidence of a sizeable conservative protest vote. If the country had been in a protesting mood, T. Coleman Andrews would have done better than he did, as would Suzanne Stevenson in Connecticut, J. Bracken Lee in Utah and General MacArthur in New York. A conservative protest against the New Republicanism at the congressional level would certainly have been reflected, to some extent, in the Presidential vote; protesters are people who are either disgusted or angry and it is difficult to conceive of many Pennsylvania conservatives, for example, who would take out such sentiments on Duff and go ahead and vote for Eisenhower. Finally, in the notable instance in which an Eisenhower Republican was rejected in favor of a conservative Democrat, the result can be explained as plausibly in terms of Governor Lausche's personal popularity as in terms of solid conservative sentiment in Ohio that expressed itself when given a visibly conservative candidate.

The second hypothesis—that the voters, on balance, thought that the New Republicanism was not Liberal enough — cannot be demonstrated either. But its validity must be tentatively presumed, for we do know that some voters expressed their disapproval of the New Republicanism by voting for Liberal Democrats.

In any event, the important question—as regards the future of the Republican Party—is not what *actually* happened on election day, but what those Republicans who will be running for office in 1958 and 1960 *think* happened on election day. And this correspondent has not unearthed a single Republican leader, nor does he expect to, who interprets the election as a mandate for "old Republicanism." Yet the Party's failure is generally acknowledged. So the tendency will be to try to improve on the New Republicanism. Most Republicans will try to do this simply by staying abreast of the Eisenhower line in the months ahead, so as to make their personal devotion to the New Republicanism more believable. This is not because most Republicans discount the possibility that the electorate has moved leftward, even of the Eisenhower line; but because for most Republicans the New Republicanism is as much as they can stomach for now. Not so, perhaps, other Republicans. Jacob Javits, for one, may build himself a record that only the ADA can admire.

For Conservatives

They have very little to look forward to. The conservatives' only hope of making headway *within* the two parties is to convince one of them, by a successful election performance, that the conservative vote is worth courting. But here they get involved in a vicious circle, for neither party can afford to nominate conservative candidates without prior proof that there is a conservative vote. The answer, if there is any, probably lies in a third party. But that development must await the death of one of the major parties, which are about the only things that aren't dying at the moment.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Federal Scholarships

Although the advocates of federal aid to education have devoted most of their energies to lobbying in favor of federal grants to state systems of primary and secondary schooling, many of them also intend to persuade the federal government to take the universities and colleges in hand. A subcommittee of the American Council on Education, for instance, recently recommended to its parent committee that Washington embark upon a program of federal scholarships, to be paid to individual students, that would cost $200,000,000 annually.

Now no country ever has been so be-scholarshipped as the United States is already. In itself, the scholarship is a venerable and admirable institution, particularly when it is employed to reward merit as well as to relieve indigence. Many thousands of scholarships already are available throughout every state, and at every college, state or private; some hundreds, indeed, annually go begging for want of applicants. In Chicago, the gigantic National Merit Scholarship Corporation has been founded to distribute on a national scale many very comfortable grants to undergraduates; this is financed by large private charitable foundations. Many states authorize their universities and state colleges to award a large number of tuition-scholarships; and alumni associations act similarly. If, for any reason, a sincere student cannot obtain a scholarship, he certainly can negotiate a substantial loan, at small or no interest, from one of the innumerable college loan-funds.

So federal scholarships are proposed at a strangely inappropriate time. The advocates of this scheme usually advance as an argument the alleged fact that many young people don't enter college who ought to enter. Why ought they to enter? Because some of them, to judge from their intelligence-quotients and their high-school marks, are no less clever than the average student who *does* enroll in college. A logical flaw in this chain of reasoning may be that perhaps the average college student, or at least the lower third or fourth part of the student body, oughtn't to be in college at all: he has simply come along for the fun and a snob-degree, and his bored presence reduces standards at most American universities below the level of standards at decent European secondary schools. Our entrance-standards already are very low; and to provide scholarships for more bored or bewildered freshmen out of the lower quartiles of their high-school graduating classes would be a ferocious disservice to the higher learning among us.

It also is possible that a good many able young people don't enroll in college simply because they know better. There are types of character and mind highly uncongenial to college life, however talented their possessors may be; and it is best to let such young men and women follow their own bent; probably they have all the formal schooling they need, and will find their way perfectly well by themselves. Our colleges being what they are today, often the self-educated man is the best-educated man. Besides, surely some of the best minds among the rising generation are so sickened of school by the puerilities and futilities of Deweyite pedagogy that they had as soon spend four years in Bedlam as four years in Brummagem University.

So I seriously doubt whether there is any demonstrable need for federal scholarships. But suppose a need of sorts could be established—what then? Would such a federal program be altogether beneficial? I think not. For one thing, the dangers of an oppressive centralization and standardization, among both students and institutions, would be great. And we should have to expect some degree of enforced conformity to political ideology. The administration of the Fulbright Program has been anything but reassuring. One of the questions asked of applicants for Fulbright awards is this: "Is the applicant a representative American?" A representative American, there is reason to believe, means to many of the administrators of this program a person who subscribes to the line, say, of the *New Republic*. An influential senator often consulted on awards is said invariably to ask this question, "Is Mr.——a real Liberal?" If not, he'd best stay home in Oshkosh. And this screening, I am told, extends to the Fulbright appointments of American lecturers at foreign universities. An eminent American professor of economics informs me that if a candidate for a professorial Fulbright grant is a Republican, he might as well not bother to apply—and that even under the present national Republican Administration.

And the clutch of ideology is not the only objection on principle to federal scholarships. For there is such a thing as making the path to worldly success too easy. Edmund Burke, who rose principally through his own intellectual talents, remarked once that we ought not to remove all difficulties from the way of enterprising talent. A hasty and luxurious rise to any station, even the station of an American college graduate, tends to lead young people to intellectual arrogance.

It is the struggle in life which gives living its savor. This is as true of the student as of anyone; truer, indeed, than of many vocations. George Gissing, lugging his set of Gibbon down Tottenham Court Road to his garret room—that quarto set of Gibbon bought at the price of several dinners—had more pleasure out of his solitary and poverty-racked reading than any hundred average undergraduates at Brummagem University extract from four plushy years in federally-financed dormitories and air-conditioned lecture-r o o m s . I should not like to see the student converted into a federal pensioner, as if he were imbecilic or senile. One of the conspicuous vices of democracies, Tocqueville writes, is their habit of keeping men always in the leading-strings of a compulsory childhood.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

American Aloneness

ROBERT PHELPS

Any human face is an awesome index, but the unguarded face of a writer can be harrowing. Behind those eyes, self-awareness is a constant prowler, and innocence seems extinct. Here, where the Word-Made-Flesh struggles to know itself and become words again, we can see ravages which may be beautiful, but are rarely pretty.

Several of the photographs among the five hundred illustrations in *Our Literary Heritage: A Pictorial History of the Writer in America*, by Van Wyck Brooks and Otto L. Bettmann (246 pp., E. P. Dutton, $8.50) made me wonder if the camera, after all, is not still the most significant single product technology has yielded. The face of young Henry Adams, for instance; or Brady's Hawthorne; or Henry James hovering along a London street; or half a dozen blandly narcissistic poses of Whitman, would make this book worth owning even if its subject—the American writer and his tradition—were not one whose meaning is still urgently open for speculation.

The ideal text would have drawn upon quotations from the writers themselves. Beside the image of Thoreau looking directly into the lens two years before he died, it would have been exactly right to read his own words: "I should not talk so much about myself if there were anybody else whom I knew as well." Instead, we have excerpts from Mr. Van Wyck Brooks' history of the American writer. This not only does little justice to the original, whose virtue is a gossipy richness of detail which a digest necessarily thins to gruel; it also tends to isolate the simple-minded thesis about "the American tradition" which has been Mr. Brooks' least interesting aspect for years.

The American tradition, he says, means "a faith in *some* goodness in human nature, some inborn moral feeling and capacity for freedom." This, of course, is not untrue. But neither is it exclusively characteristic of American literature. Writers in eighteenth-century England and fifth-century Greece acknowledged "*some* goodness in human nature" too. Moreover, in many distinctly American writers, from Poe to Henry Adams to Eliot, this particular emphasis is not conspicuous; which requires Mr. Brooks, peevishly and not very usefully, to write them off as minor.

Yet there is an American tradition, and like any viable tradition it certainly does include Mr. Brooks' articles. It also includes—begins with and is defined by—a quality of, not loneliness, but aloneness, to be found nowhere else in the annals of world literature.

Until say 1800, the European writer belonged to a community. From Skelton to Dr. Johnson, he had a social and economic place. He entertained; he translated; he made memorable phrases for what had "oft been thought but ne'er so well express'd." After 1800, as community broke down, he lost his place. He became a pariah, an outlaw: outraged, lonely, self-absorbed. He had only himself to turn to, and the shrill *culte de moi* in which he exalted his heroics was no more than a baffled reaction to the disorderly community that no longer had a niche for him.

But in the same century, just because he had little or no community in the first place, the American writer began with the same aloneness the European writer was ending with. Like Poe, he may have populated it with bogies, or like James, he may have tried to escape it by moving to England. Like Thoreau, he may have grumpily savored it, or like Whitman, he may have tiresomely bragged about it. He may even have broken down under it, like Melville, or secretly survived it, like Emily Dickinson. But he *had* it, from the beginning, and its ambience, more than any other factor, conditioned what he became.

Hence his often shockingly candid tone of voice—in which a man might be uttering his ruminations aloud, to the wind, when he thinks he is out of anyone else's earshot. Hence the improvised, intimate, un-guildsman-like character of his art forms— journals, letters, memoirs, marginalia—with Melville interrupting his rhapsodic *Moby Dick* to cry out, "This book is but the draft of a draft," and Emerson predicting that "these novels will give way, by and by, to diaries and autobiographies." Hence, also, the fear of self-disclosure that made Mark Twain hide behind a Missouri dialect and Henry James behind a London drawl, until their native landscapes emboldened them, in *Life on the Mississippi* and *The American Scene*, to speak for themselves.

Hence, finally, the promise in *Walden*: "In most books, the *I*, or first person, is omitted; in this it will be retained." For in the American writer, and to a degree hitherto unseen, the face of the individual man who is writing the story emerges from behind his mask; and not to say, "Look at Me," but simply because when you are alone, a mask seems superfluous.

Personal, self-mythologizing, but not, in the European sense, "romantic," the American tradition is an extension of the whole human tradition which says, "Know theyself" and "Look in thy heart and write."

American writers are not entertainers, so much as witnesses. As Cocteau pointed out, they "no longer envisage art as an amusement, but as a ministry."

Hence, from Poe to Glenway Wescott, they have dreamed of a book in which the author's own heart would be fearlessly laid bare, and exhorted themselves to "revelation of man as he appears to himself in his mirror." And whenever they have even partially realized this dream, has it not been because, from the beginning, they were given, graced by, that aloneness which Auden called "man's real condition"?

Imbecility? Treason?

Inside the State Department: A Candid Appraisal of the Bureaucracy, by Bryton Barron. 178 pp. New York: Comet Press. $3.00

Next week or next month, as surely as the leaves fall in autumn, the United States will suffer another major defeat in the "cold" war.

Our defeat will mean nothing at all to a large number of Americans. Their political interests are concentrated on the public teat from which they are industriously milking direct or indirect subsidies. Another large segment of the electorate will stir uneasily in its dream and wonder vaguely *why* American diplomacy has for more than twenty years been an unbroken record of shameful abasement before international thugs. The rest of us will go over the familiar ground of our old speculations concerning the State Department.

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Imbecility or treason? Neither hypothesis is satisfactory. Mere stupidity could not infallibly choose the wrong policy *every* time. But a traitor (as distinct from a spy, whose function is to obtain secret information secretly) could not long escape the notice of his colleagues and superiors in the formulation of policy. Surely they cannot *all* be his accomplices!

In the past, when we found ourselves in this dilemma, we realized with something of a shock that we really knew less about our own State Department than about many cities behind the Iron Curtain. Mr. Barron is the first man to report to the American public on conditions inside the Forbidden City in Foggy Bottom. After twenty-six years in responsible positions in the Department, he was expelled from its domain when he protested the suppression of important documents in the supposedly complete publication of papers on the ignominious U.S. surrender at Yalta.

Mr. Barron, who was one of the few survivors of the State Department that we had before 1932, writes with modesty and restraint. He is hampered by the legal obligation to maintain silence concerning everything that the bureaucracy has elected to call "secret." He can expose only relatively minor frauds. But he gives us a vivid and convincing picture of a monstrous bureaucracy, half of whose members do no useful work, animated by a lust to multiply jobs and by an arrogant contempt for the American people and for Congress, whom the departmental mentality regards as members of an inferior race. Within this mass is lodged a compact and organized group of Mr. Hiss' former colleagues. Mr. Barron makes it quite clear that they are in a position to control the routine operations of the Department.

The State Department that Mr. Barron describes is essentially a cancerous growth on America. Like other forms of cancer, its energies are primarily devoted to expansion at the expense of the body in which it is lodged, and with no concern for the life span of that body. Mr. Barron's book, despite the unassuming style in which it is written, will convince a candid reader that there is only one hope for the United States: surgery before it is too late.

REVILO OLIVER

Education for What?

A Catholic Philosophy of Education, by John D. Redden and Francis A. Ryan. 601 pp. Milwaukee: Brace Publishing Company. $4.75

If educators really want to know why they have fallen so low in public esteem, they need only wake up to the fact that they have abandoned concern with the very things of which educators are traditionally the custodians and expositors. There are teachings concerning the nature of reality, the validity of knowledge, the meaning of goodness, and the origin and final end of man. This essentially is what Professors Redden and Ryan show in *A Catholic Philosophy of Education.* The book is a systematic comparison of Catholic belief and practice with all of the chief modern theories, and particularly with those stemming from the school of John Dewey.

Catholic education proves its seriousness by asking at the outset, "What is man?" The answer given is that man is a body and a soul. Consequently, education has as one of its controlling considerations man's supernatural destiny. It cannot be exclusively for the objective of "adjustment to the environment." (Even biology now teaches that a perfectly adjusted organism ceases to develop.) Neither should it be exclusively for "success." Failure is just as truly a part of reality as success, and a complete education equips one to survive that. Meantime, that prize of all modern cant phrases, "education for democratic living," receives its due deflation. It takes no little courage today to point out, as do the authors, that "democracy is only one form of government that *Societas Civilis Naturalis* takes."

That modern "progressive" education is an apostasy, not only from all faith but from all learning, is apparent to anyone who takes the trouble to examine its premises. Man is continuous with nature, and nature is eternally changing—toward what, nobody can say, because the universe is regarded as self-existing. And since man is only an atom in this vast flux, free will is not only intellectually untenable but also practically undesirable. The upshot is a picture in which

"there are no eternal moral values or moral standards . . . no conduct intrinsically good or bad, no moral responsibility; there are no good men or bad men; no heroes, no honest men, no scoundrels; there are only 'cases' (neurotic or badly conditioned)."

Well, having dug himself into a hole that deep, how is man ever going to get out? More than thirty years ago Irving Babbitt wrote, "under certain conditions that are already partly in sight, the Catholic Church may perhaps be the only institution left in the Occident that can be counted on to uphold civilized standards." That is certainly the feeling one gets from reading this comparison of a Catholic philosophy of education with the nihilism of Dewey and his epigoni.

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Love Pirate

Caleb Pettengill, U.S.N., by George Fielding Eliot. 320 pp. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. $3.95

George Fielding Eliot (the military analyst who possesses the no doubt unique history of having been born in Brooklyn, educated in Australia and having fought at the Dardanelles) has written an entertaining novel about the Union Navy in the Civil War, well couched in a colloquial salty style.

Major Eliot bears about the equivalent relation to C. S. Forester of Erle Stanley Gardner to Poe; but like Gardner, he writes a highly readable story in which something happens all the time. The book exploits that largely neglected phase of the War Between The States, the crucial part played by the Union Navy in blockading the Confederacy's seaports.

Lt. Pettengill himself looks like Abraham Lincoln, fights like 31-knot Burke and makes love as most sailors can only dream of doing. Since Major Eliot terminates his story in the first year of the war, and with three provocative affairs hovering above the scented envelopes of unopened billets-doux, it may not be rash to anticipate a sequel—or perhaps half a shelf—to come. Personally, I look forward to the next installment keenly.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

Psychology, Psychiatry and the Public Interest, edited by Maurice H. Krout. 217 pp. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. $4.00

In this collection of short articles psychologists encourage one another to claim for themselves the status, privileges and emoluments of the medical profession. Not only is tiresome medical training really unnecessary for tinkering with human beings, but it may be a source of prejudice in dealing with many "behavior problems." It follows, therefore, that the physicians and psychiatrists of this country are persecuting the psychologists and selfishly preventing them from attaining the prestige of state recognition as independent practitioners. The author of what is by far the best article in the book reminds his colleagues that "feeling the need of more prestige generally comes . . . from one's own inner doubts as to the value of one's work."

R. P. O.

The Rise of Scotland Yard, A History, by Douglas G. Browne. 392 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.00

A history of the London Metropolitan Police, this book should be of equal interest to enthusiasts for the detective story and to students of governmental institutions. It is a well-organized, thorough history and also an entertaining collection of anecdotes. Mr. Browne proves that it is not necessary to dispense with all structure and sense to make a book of this kind pleasant reading. F. S. M.

Observations on Krebiozen in the Management of Cancer, by A. C. Ivy, M. D., John F. Pick, M. D., and W. F. P. Phillips, M. D. 106 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery. $2.50

Dr. Ivy is best known to the general public as a participant in a recent academic scandal in which there were, as it began, two clearly defined questions: 1) Do universities conduct research for the purpose of providing their administrators with advertising copy? 2) Do the little Hitlers who pullulate in the decay of our educational system have a right to dictate subjects of research to their professorial serfs? But the Liberal mind's unquestioned skill in befogging all issues soon turned the question of academic freedom into a confused quarrel about the nature and efficacy of a new drug called krebiozen which had injudiciously been advertised in press releases as a cure for cancer. The present book is a concise clinical report written for physicians and laymen who are not too proud to touch a dictionary on occasion. The clinical reports, if accurate, show that the drug has indubitable value as a palliative, that in a considerable number of cases it evidently inhibited the growth of cancerous formations, and that in a limited number of cases it has effected apparent cures which have lasted for four or five years. The results are comparable to those obtained with X-ray therapy. It would appear, therefore, that further research with krebiozen is needed—and this, after all, is what Dr. Ivy claimed.

R. P. O.

The Conquerors, by André Malraux, translated by Winifred Stephens Whale. 193 pp. Boston: The Beacon Press. $1.25

The republication of Malraux' first novel provides an instructive specimen of what was written and read in the 1920's when the upas tree of modern "Liberalism" began to bloom. The hero's only faith is "that there cannot be any *real life* without the conviction, without the obsession of the futility of everything." The narrator of the tale may be taken as typical of the "intellectual" who applauded the "end of colonialism" in China. To him the diseased energumen seemed "courageous and philosophical," and he proudly records his "friendship with a man whom I have loved." The reprint is followed by a "postface" in which Malraux, grown up at last, warns his contemporaries that the weakness of Europe is entirely spiritual, a perverse loss of faith in its own culture. "The guarantee of political freedom and intellectual freedom does not lie in political liberalism, which is sentenced to death the moment it is faced with Stalinism."

R. P. O.

To the Editor

The Quakers' "Apologia"

In reply to a letter in the November 10 issue from William B. Edgerton, one of the six Quakers Eugene Lyons so ably dissected in his article, "Six Quakers in Search of Coexistence" [Sept. 22]:

Before Mr. Lyons got around to writing the article in question, I had already "risked" my 35 cents, and purchased the Quakers' apologia for the USSR and the Communist way of life. As a result, I am in a position to state, from personal opinion, after reading and considering, "Meeting the Russians," that Mr. Lyons wrote with considerable restraint and understatement. No wonder the Friendswood Friends Meeting in Texas denounced the American Friends Service Committee!

I sincerely hope that other readers will also "risk" their 35 cents, so that they may see how fairly Mr. Lyons has treated this cynical "report," with its insistence that we "understand" the murderous conspiracy now engaged in viciously obliterating every Hungarian man, woman and child, who do *not* share "a general belief in the justice and correctness of Soviet policies."

Washington, D.C. SARAH CARMALT

Anger and Instruction

. . . I find your magazine interesting and amusing, sometimes angering, and sometimes even instructive with writers like Russell Kirk and James Burnham. . . .

Erlton, N.J. C. W. GRIFFIN

Wisdom in 1919

In his review of *The Orwell Reader,* [Nov. 10] John Chamberlain calls to mind the terrible boredom of facts which caused most Americans to refuse to face the bloody horror of Bolshevism until the Hitler-Stalin Pact shocked us into wakefulness. It was in 1919 that John Foster Dulles' uncle, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, summed up his conclusions from 60,000 words of documents and reports, which he submitted to the grandfather of our present Ambassador to the UN, Henry Cabot Lodge. His Summation read in part:

> . . . the purpose of the Bosheviks is to subvert the existing principles of government and society the world over . . . . They have built up a political machine which, by the concentration of power in the hands of a few and the ruthlessness of its methods, suggests the Asiatic despotism of the early Tsars.

So dull was the truth that it is not surprising that John Chamberlain, Orwell and I all preferred the sprightly Walter Lippmann, who told us the opposite the following year in the *New Republic.* . . .

Of course, that was a long time ago, but most Americans still prefer pundits like Lippmann, who "Hear no evil, See no evil, Speak no evil."

New York City ALFRED KOHLBERG

From an Army Post

Having only recently come in contact with NATIONAL REVIEW, I consider it an outstanding magazine in its devotion to the ideal of freedom. . . . Your publication is vital to American life in that it is unique in expressing the viewpoints which it does. . . .

Fort Meade, Md. PVT. JOHN C. BYRD

Religion and Conservatism

In making the point that religion in America offers no firm footing for conservatism, Mr. de Toledano states [Sept. 22] that "American Catholicism, seeded with Jansenism, veers ever closer to the Protestant road—and Thomism becomes the handmaiden of Robert Hutchins." . . .

The writer confuses terms. Catholicism, properly speaking, is neither American nor French. It is to betray one's ignorance of its very nature to state that it is capable of anything but accidental change. It is true that "some American Catholics" have been strongly influenced by Jansenism. It may be likewise true that some American Catholics veer toward the Protestant road, but to state that the Catholic Church in America does so is simply untrue . . . . It is difficult to see the harm done to Thomism by its use or abuse by Robert Hutchins, or any other. Even the devil has been known to quote Scripture.

REV. DECLAN BAILEY O.F.M.
Washington, D.C.

Drop Everything

When NATIONAL REVIEW arrives, everything else is dropped then and there—and the magazine is read from start to finish. . . . "The Ivory Tower" is priceless.

Torrance, Cal. LUCILE A. MURPHY

All Equal but Eggheads

It cannot and should not be argued that the American Negro is not entitled to the same legal, economic and social rights as the American citizen of any other color, but this does not mean that . . . it is necessary or good to take steps which will encourage and make certain the intermingling of the racial strains, so that . . . then there will be no pure white race in the United States and no pure Negro race either.

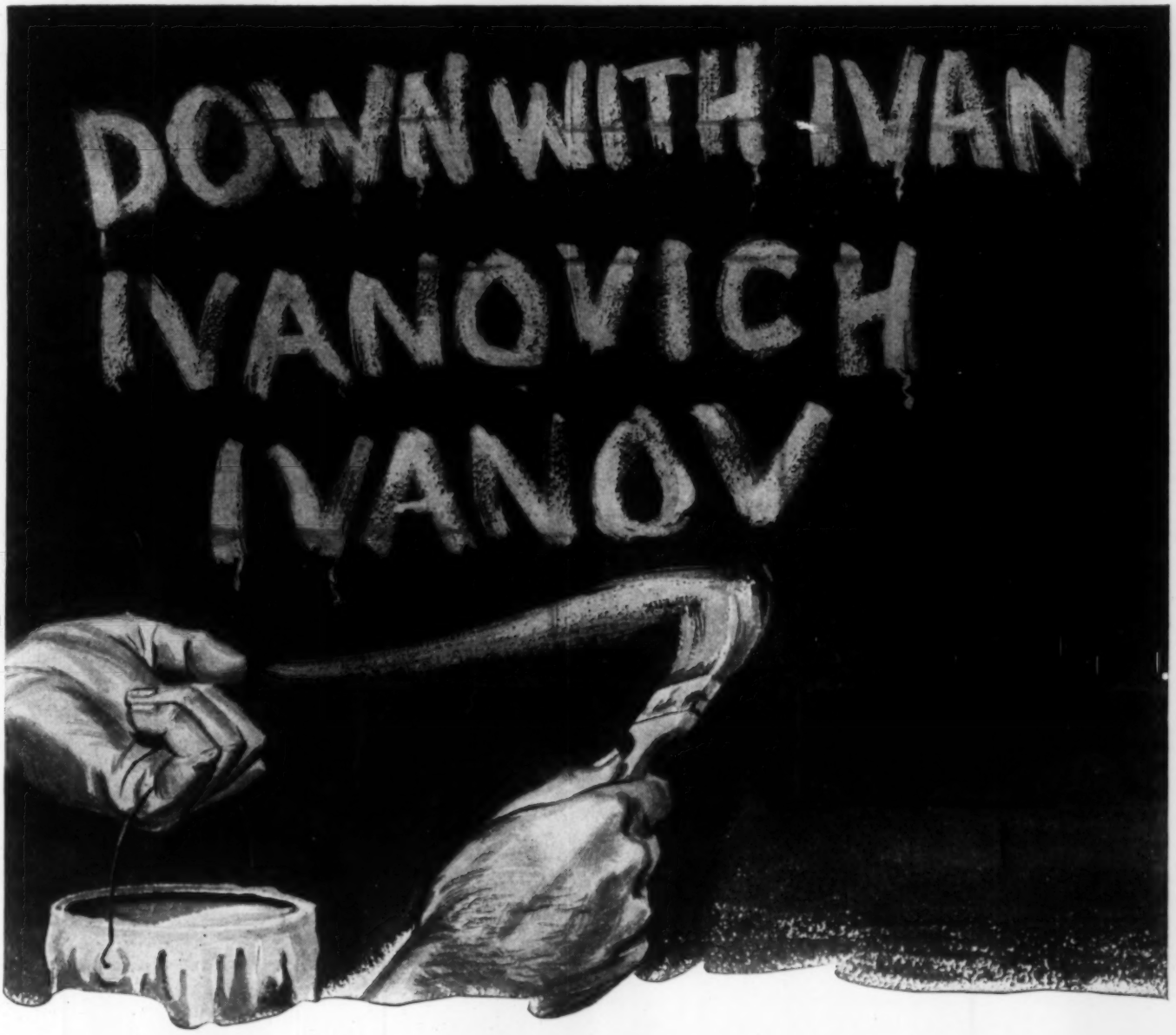
. . . our native egghead Socialists . . . wish to break down all distinctions of all kinds among men so that every one of us will be as alike . . . as the proverbial peas in a pod. They apparently will not be satisfied until we are all of equal size, equal color, equal minimum brain-power and equal everything else, except, of course, that select and self-perpetuating group of the elite . . . the dominating eggheads.

Wilmington, Del. ALAN DOLLIVER

Unfair to Huxley?

The tirade against Aldous Huxley written by Frank S. Meyer in your November 3 issue was so absurdly unfair and so willfully blind as to be laughable to anyone who has read even a fraction of the works of the great souls and saints that Huxley so ardently admires and espouses. Meyer says (referring to Christianity), "Huxley has never been willing to look for truth—in the traditions of his own civilization." But the facts of the matter are that Huxley has done precisely that. . . .

Berkeley, Cal. ALBERT BISCHOFF



Secret Ballot—Soviet Style

DOWN with Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov! Here is the secret ballot in Russia. The polling booth is a deserted street on a moonless night. The ballot, the rough face of a building. It's as close as this man will get to voting *against* anyone in Russia. He knows *no* secret ballot.

Here we are afforded the secrecy of the voting booth. We put our faith in the individual as a thinking person—faith in the value of political opposition and the need for its expression. We can vote for or against public officials.

This November after the smoke of campaign rhetoric has cleared the American voter will sift through the bombast and the back-patting, the platitudes and the promises, and cast his all-important, *secret* ballot.

In fear of no one, answerable only to his conscience, he will not only be expressing his own personal choice, but reiterating our national faith in the importance of the individual. For it has been individuals—not basically different from those in Russia—expressing their individual choices secretly and proudly, who have built America. Over the years, the secret ballot has indeed worked for us.

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